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693 great weight. There was also muddled-headed old Mabungwani, who, as judgement creditor, regularly for two years came from a far-off district fruitlessly to complain that Maake, the debtor, had not yet paid him, but was still 'looking for' the fine; he took a prominent part, muddling the issues, but humouring the men; and it was a real joy to listen to him These were but some of the striking personalities of the fifty men or more who habitually came to the *khɔrɔ*. They attended, some for one reason, some for another, as we would attend a function which is partly an entertainment and partly a responsibility. The *khɔrɔ* is not wholly a casual assembly, since men living in the neighbourhood are expected to give their assistance at the sessions every Sunday morning.

Not the men of the *khɔrɔ*, but only 'mothers' and messengers, are specially rewarded. A plaintiff, resident, say, in the district of Madumani, taking his case to the capital, should go accompanied by a messenger from Madumani to report his complaint to his 'mother', Khidima, to whom he gives three goats or their equivalent, usually £1 and a goat. By this formal complaint (*hu ɖalia*) he becomes the plaintiff (*muɖalii*): the £1 is *hu ɖalia*, serves to 'open' the *khɔrɔ*, and is handed by the 'mother' to the queen; the goat or 10s. is to 'break down the *khɔrɔ*' and will be retained by Khidima if the defendant lives in one of his districts, for then Khidima must summon him; but if he resides in, say, Matsui, Khidima must give the goat to Muneri, 'mother' of Matsui, who is responsible for calling his own 'children'. The 'mother' himself, as was usual in the old days, or a messenger of the 'mother', as is common to-day, receives from the defendant he summons a goat called *budi ya bija* (goat of the pot) or *leudu la mudzeɖa* (fee of the feet). In cases of 'blood', of witchcraft, and of offences against the tribal authorities, when they come before the *khɔrɔ*, the procedure is different and these fees are not paid.

All the young men in the district of the capital are *maharula*, envoys of *khɔrɔ* or queen. The usual work of a *leharula* is to call district heads to tribal gatherings (*khiviji*), though much of this is now done by herdboys, who every fortnight drive the cattle to the dipping tanks. The *maharula* also represent the queen at *morula* cider drinks, given to the queen by districts other than the capital, for, except on special and very rare religious occasions (say once in every few years), she does not move beyond her own district. But for our present purpose we shall consider the *maharula* as a kind of police force, though without its powers. Police, prisons, process for executing judgements are alien to the culture, but situations akin to contempt occasionally arise in the *khɔrɔ*, and, if it is a young man or woman who despises the authority of the old men, a *leharula* may be detailed to supervise the execution of a patently absurd piece of work by the offender. The object is to humiliate, the onlookers are amused, no force is used, and usually the prisoner submits before he has started the work. *Maharula* do not specially attend the *khɔrɔ* for this purpose; the *khɔrɔ* usually ignores indignities; and submission, even if merely assumed, is accepted as sufficient.

693 Another duty of *maharula* is to collect fines, imposed by custom, not
691 by trial, upon a whole district that has offended. When, for instance, in 1937 none of the young boys and girls of the district of the capital

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responded to the order to weed the queen's field, *maharula* went to collect a fowl from each 'rebel'. They collected seven fowls, because most of the delinquents could offer excuses which showed, to the satisfaction of the *maharula*, that they had repented. In 1938 Mahubusana complained that the residents of his district despised him. They had successively ignored his order to make *morula* cider first for himself and then for the queen and also to bring the 'money for the petrol of the queen's car'. *Maharula*, the councillors said, would be sent to exact one goat from every household. Nothing happened. Later Mahubusana brought the five main culprits to the capital and there they were told to pay 5s. each to their district head and to leave the district after having gathered in their harvest. 'You have despised the district head and the queen,' it was said. 'Go, then, and live where there is no chief, for here you worry the queen.' There was no trial; and a year after the 1938 harvest the rebels were still living in the district. *Maharula* are also sent to exact the fine due in those 'blood' cases that are reported to the queen. Despite apparent exceptions, *maharula* are not and never were deputed to execute upon a decision of the *khoro*, for the *khoro* is concerned with private delicts, wrongs between individuals who, in the last resort, are left to arrange restitution among themselves.

At the village of each district head there is also a *khoro*, the arrangements of which resemble those at the capital; but, of course, there are many variations. Its competence is in practice determined by the presumptions of the district head; and the law it applies is not necessarily the law of the capital. Some district heads, having sub-districts under them, attach 'mothers' and *maharula* to the *khoro*, but usually these are only messengers for calling defendants. *Khoro* trials are usually held in the district of the defendant, and the messenger or 'mother' is entitled to the 'fee of the feet', but not all district heads charge for 'opening' the *khoro*. The district head may have a special *duna*, often his elder brother, who is entrusted with legal matters and 'presides' in his absence; women who are heads do not appear in the *khoro*, but *confirm decisions*. Sometimes the district *khoro* is better organized and controlled than that at the capital, there may be regular judges and assessors, the word is 'passed' (*ku suma*) from the junior to the senior members, contempt is strictly dealt with, and so on. But this is unusual, the organization being much more haphazard and the procedure much less regularized. Mostly the district head intervenes at the request of one party to see whether he can effect a reconciliation: he sets out with the plaintiff to the village of the defendant rather than summons the defendant to his *khoro*, or he goes as an intermediary (*mukhumadi*) of the one party to persuade the other to accept the settlement offered. Full-dress *khoro* trials are often like heated family consultations. *Khoro* cases in which the fine of restitution is a head of cattle must theoretically be reported to the capital, not for confirmation, but for directions as to the disposal of the fine; but in practice this rule is often not observed. 'Blood' cases not reported to the capital are dealt with by the district head, whose function is something between that of an intercessor and a judge. In theory 'blood' cases are not tried, and in practice district heads do inquire into and often finally settle such cases.